

The observation is this: those who are engaged in trying to work through the remaining differences on the regulation reform bill reported to me just moments ago that real progress has been made this afternoon. I think that we have been able to report progress from time to time.

I think in all sincerity, some effort has been made on both sides to continue to narrow the differences, and we made significant progress over the course of the last several hours. The time that has been spent since about 3 o'clock this afternoon has been well spent.

As it relates to this resolution, I think the recommendation made by the majority leader and the majority whip is a good one. I think laying the bill aside will accommodate the negotiations, and I think that it is safe to assume that we are going to continue to make progress over the course of the next couple of days. We certainly do not relegate any rights to continue to object to closure on the legislation, should we find that progress has not been sufficient. But I think we need to recognize that, indeed, efforts are being made on both sides to try to accommodate the concerns. It is in that context that we want to allow that process to continue.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, we certainly appreciate the comments of the distinguished Democratic leader.

I further ask unanimous consent then that the Senate resume S. 343 after the disposition of S. 21, as amended, if amended, and no call for the regular order serve to displace S. 21, except one made by the majority leader after notification of the minority leader, and if a call for the regular order is made, there be 1 hour for debate to be equally divided in the usual form to be followed by the third cloture vote on the Dole-Johnston substitute, and the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, again, reserving the right to object, now I simply want to state the two concerns I mentioned a moment ago. First, we have an understanding that over the course of tomorrow morning and early afternoon that there be no votes on amendments or on the resolution itself. A number of Senators have been invited down to the White House to discuss this matter. I think it would be very helpful if that discussion can take place prior to the time we are called upon to make any decisions.

Second, should we find the need to come back to S. 21, it would be very helpful if we had plenty of notice. The majority leader and the majority whip have both indicated that, indeed, it would be their desire to give us plenty of notice.

So it is with those two understandings that we have no objection and encourage Senators to comply with this unanimous-consent agreement and

get on with the debate relating to the Dole resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the entire request proposed?

Mr. LOTT. It has been propounded, and if the Chair would like to go ahead and do the ruling, I have one further comment I would like to make.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the entire unanimous-consent request?

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, reserving the right to object. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi has the floor. Does he yield for the purpose of—

Mr. LOTT. First, I was not aware that the Senator had a problem that he wanted to discuss with the minority leader. While that is being done, I would like to respond to a couple of points that the minority leader made.

First, as is always the custom, the majority leader would certainly give notice to the other side, to the minority leader, before any votes would occur. That is always done. Certainly, they would give them the usual courtesy that would be expected in that regard.

Second, I know, also, that the majority leader—while I have not discussed it with him—would want to honor any request for consideration of a meeting that might be occurring on this particular matter with the administration. So I know that the minority leader has already been assured of that. I would like to reconfirm that.

Also, I would like to note, before the Chair rules, that I have been notified that we do not expect any more recorded votes tonight. The majority leader has sent that word. We had discussed that earlier with him and with the minority leader. So the Members should be on notice that there will be no more recorded votes tonight.

I have no further requests. I thank the minority leader for his indulgence. I would like to see if we can get a ruling on the unanimous-consent request.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I want to notify the membership that if this agreement cannot be reached, it would be the intent of the leader to go on with the pending legislation, and then we could expect additional recorded votes tonight. I will be glad to yield to the minority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I was not aware of the concern of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin with regard to the regulatory reform bill. We have an hour prior to the time we would go to the third cloture motion under this unanimous consent agreement. He would like to be protected to offer a nongermane amendment relating to a sense-of-the-Senate resolution prior to that time. I think if we could accommodate the Senator from Wisconsin, perhaps we could accommodate this unanimous-consent agreement.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, in view of this development and seeing the Senator from North Carolina seeking recognition, while some further discussion takes place, I will withhold that unanimous consent request for now and yield the floor.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST BOSNIA

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, my reaction to this agreement which may soon be entered into is: At long last. On the first day that the Senate this year accepted bills and resolutions to be introduced, this resolution was introduced by the distinguished majority leader with some of the rest of us as cosponsors. The Foreign Relations Committee, of which I am chairman, has not acted on this resolution, at the specific request of the majority leader and others. But I am delighted that finally we are confronting the questions that have been raised about the delay in the resolution.

In short, Mr. President, it is high time for the Senate to acknowledge what is already perfectly clear to any objective observer: The U.N. peacekeeping effort in Bosnia is an abject failure.

The Bosnian Serbs have certainly known this for a long time, as has the beleaguered Bosnian Muslim government. Yet, the United Nations persists in a policy that, at best, has given the appearance of action while, in fact, allowing the slow-motion genocide of Bosnian Muslims.

Lest the President of the United States need reminding, along with the leaders of our European allies, Bosnia was recognized as an independent nation 3 years ago. Commensurate with that status is the explicit right of self-defense. For 3 years, the Bosnian Serbs have pursued an aggressive campaign, aided and abetted by the Government of Serbia. Irrefutable evidence, such as the integrated air defense of these two brutal forces, demonstrates that this is truly a war of aggression being waged by Serbia. How any democratic government can continue to justify the arms embargo against Bosnia on either moral or legal grounds escapes me. It absolutely escapes me.

So-called safe areas are being overrun, U.N. peacekeepers have been taken hostage, humanitarian assistance convoys are either blocked or being looted by Bosnian Serb fighters, and Sarajevo airport has been closed for 3 months. Despite this deteriorating situation, the U.S. Government persists in supporting the illusion of peacekeeping—as if there is any peace to keep in that part of the world. Most recently, President Clinton has stated his intention to spend an additional \$95 million on the U.N. so-called rapid reaction force in order to perpetuate this failed policy. Under the current rules

of engagement, that force will do nothing to confront Serb aggression.

Mr. President, it would be an exaggeration to suggest that the situation in Bosnia is at a diplomatic standstill. It is moving backward. It appears that the closest the Western Powers can get to a negotiated solution is to reward the Serbian dictator who started this entire war by easing the sanctions against his country. Even this effort—which is an embarrassment to the United States—has fallen short.

So in recognition of this failure, and as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I declare that it is time for us to take a step which should have happened 3 years ago. We must approve this legislation to lift the arms embargo against the Bosnians and allow those people to defend themselves.

I thank the Chair and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I will repeat my earlier unanimous consent request. I understand that we need to start this whole routine over again. I am going to have two unanimous-consent requests.

First, I ask unanimous consent that the pending bill, S. 343, be temporarily laid aside and the Foreign Relations Committee be discharged from further consideration of S. 21, and the Senate turn to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I further ask that the Senate resume S. 343 after the disposition of S. 21, as amended, if amended, and no call for the regular order serve to displace S. 21, except one made by the majority leader, after notification of the minority leader—and he can be assured that he would get proper notification on that—and if a call for the regular order is made, there be 1 hour for debate, to be equally divided in the usual form, to be followed by the third cloture vote on the Dole-Johnston substitute, and the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SANTORUM). Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I do not want to confuse the matter any more, so I waited until after the unanimous consent request was proffered.

Let me make sure my colleagues are clear as to what the circumstances are now. I have had the opportunity to consult with the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. It is my intention to protect his right to offer a sense-of-the-Senate resolution either before cloture or after cloture, if a cloture motion is required; or if no cloture motion is required, we will negotiate with the majority to ensure that the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin has an opportunity to raise the issue that he hopes to address through this sense-of-the-Senate resolution. I appreciate his cooperation in this regard, and as a result, we are now able to go forward.

I think this is a good solution to the matter, and I appreciate everyone's consideration and cooperation.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I want to reiterate, in view of the unanimous consent agreement that we did reach, that was the last issue of the day in terms of recorded votes. There will be no recorded votes until tomorrow when an agreement is reached on when the next vote will be scheduled. There will be no further recorded votes tonight.

I yield the floor.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA SELF-DEFENSE ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 21) to terminate the United States arms embargo applicable to the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, let me take this opportunity to thank the Senator from Mississippi and the Democratic leader for their help on resolving the issue.

I did not want to offer the sense-of-the-Senate resolution during the core of the debate on the substance of the bill. I do think it is relevant to this bill. I want to thank them for their cooperation.

Mr. LOTT. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I should like to take this occasion to speak strongly in favor of S. 21, the majority leader's resolution on Bosnia.

Mr. President, we have now, for more than 3 years, watched—and I use that word advisedly “watched”—the ongoing tragedy of Bosnia. The aggressions, the rapes, the cold-blooded murders, the ethnic cleansing, which has accompanied the dismemberment of a nation, recognized as a nation, and a member of the United Nations.

We have an administration which has constantly threatened action, and every bit as constantly walked away from that action when its bluff was called.

We have a U.N. protective force which has protected no one but the aggressors. A force dispatched to Bosnia to provide some kind of safety for the victims of aggression has shown itself unable to do so time after time and place after place. Whether around Sarajevo, whether in the isolated areas of refuge, whether in the northwest part of the country—its fate has been the same.

Its fate has either been to protect the Bosnian Serb aggressors against any kind of military action on the part of the United Nations, no matter how modest and ineffective by its very presence and by the ease with which the Bosnian Serbs can take the U.N. personnel as hostage; or alternatively, as was the case just 10 days ago, as an entity which disarmed the defenders of these enclaves and then provided absolutely no defense or support for essentially unarmed victims who now, themselves, are the latest example of the victims of the Serbs' ethnic cleansing.

Mr. President, the former President of the United States, George Bush, was wrong in enforcing an arms embargo against the Bosnians. President Clinton has repeated that and has been wrong to enforce that arms embargo against the Bosnians.

As recently as lunch time today, the caucuses of both parties listened to the same tired presentation from the Secretary of State, and in this case from the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that we have heard for this entire 3 years. That somehow or another to do something, change our policy, to allow those who wish to defend themselves to do so, would lead to some even worse disaster, the taking of more hostages among the U.N. forces, to more deaths and ethnic displacement on the part of the Bosnians.

Yet, the use of this excuse, Mr. President, has resulted in 3 years of violence and displacement and ethnic cleansing and an end to the belief of the United Nations to act effectively in connection with a catastrophe of this sort, and undercutting of the ability of NATO, and most significantly, a lack of belief in the United States of America.

Mr. President, it is simply time to end that bankrupt policy. The proposal that the majority leader has brought to the Senate ends the embargo on one of two conditions: a decision by the United Nations or by the countries supplying troops to the United Nations in Bosnia to withdraw; or a request from the legal Government of Bosnia that the United States lift the arms embargo and a notification to the U.N. Security Council that it has requested that those forces leave.

Mr. President, that is putting the ultimate fate of the Republic of Bosnia squarely in the hands of its own elected